to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the head-waters of the Cadereri, I met a young family The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [80] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos -- The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good hospitality.

After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadereri, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

291 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any
84 postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I be-
593 lieve that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband ap-
684 peared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

685 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are ex-
593 tremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

69 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

534 On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

592 needed the attention of his wife did he hang his hammock in the house.

593 The nuclear family within this context was clearly a less important social unit than the extended family. Its most important functions were, of course, procreation and the raising of children. The man always brought his game to his wife, but unless it was only enough for a few people, it was cooked and shared by the whole household and even the village. Man and wife performed small personal services for each other, but these could easily have been done by any other member of the opposite sex. Since the children grew up in a large family, a great deal of their upbringing was entrusted to other members of the household. By the age of five years the boys were already incorporated into groups 85% of their age mates. The younger children usually played in the village, but the groups of boys over eight years of age began to range out on the savannahs and in the smaller stretches of gallery forest, shooting small birds, gathering fruit, and bathing in the streams. The boys had great freedom and a minimum of parental supervision. Only when they were about twelve years of age did they begin to become a part of the adult economy and even this was only in certain tasks such as garden clearing, planting, and fishing. After they were married and had achieved warrior status they became fully functioning members of the community.

Girls began to help their mothers in all of the female chores at an early age, but served especially to tend the smaller children when the mothers had to work outside the village.

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problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

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The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

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The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

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It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

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The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

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Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucu pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucu household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack.

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the man's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family.

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams.

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient.

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households.

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce:

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of mandioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
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Mundurucú (cont.)	Montagnais (cont.)
village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability. Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.	Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries. Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year. Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.
B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A) Leadership no longer integrative. Individual trade undercuts kin obligations. Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.	

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Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

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The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

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The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

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The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

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Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

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11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the forest to hunt. The older man then invited him to sit down and rest and talk. 754
"Are you angry at somebody, younger brother?" he inquired. When Bertino denied any ill feelings toward another, the shaman bluntly said, "You must be. Come join me in sorcery." Bertino resisted his entreaties and told him, "I am not angry at anybody, and I do not want to harm others. Before my father died, he said to me, 'Use your knowledge to cure and to feed the *putcha ii* and for other good things. Do not use it to hurt another.' And also," continued Bertino, "I do not want to be killed by my own people." But the older shaman, not dissuaded, brushed his hand down his own arm and produced a *cauši* to impress Bertino. He then waved his fingers in the air and twenty hideous jaguars surrounded Bertino, snarling and waving their tails. "Take ten for yourself, and I will take the other ten," invited the sorcerer. Bertino was paralyzed with fright, but he still refused to practice witchcraft. "Perhaps you would prefer to be killed in a war," suggested the other. Bertino replied, "I would rather be killed by the enemy than by my own people."

Having failed in his purpose, the sorcerer threatened to kill Bertino. He apparently attempted to do so on one occasion, said my informant, for he was shortly thereafter attacked by a *cauši* while fishing. This sorcerer was finally killed by his fellow Mundurucú, and his brother was later slain as a suspected witch, also.

The sorcerer's jaguars emit a whistling sound much like that of the Yurupari. A long time ago a shaman who was hunting in the woods climbed a fruit tree and, while gathering the fruit high in the branches, heard a whistling noise that resembled the cry of the blue nambú bird. The shaman knew this to be the signal of the jaguar, but when he looked down from his lofty perch, he saw another hunter looking upward in search of what he believed to be a bird. The whistling grew closer, and the jaguars emerged from the brush. They carried leaves in their jaws, which they jammed into the mouth of the victim to prevent outcry before "eating his intestines." The jaguars departed, and the shaman descended from the tree and returned to his village. A short time later the victim of the jaguars arrived in the village, feverish and vomiting. The shaman was asked to treat him, but, having witnessed the attack, he turned to another shaman and said, "You treat the sick man. It was you who ate him." The stricken man died, and the men of the village executed the accused sorcerer.

The following case of jaguar sorcery is of special interest since it describes [593]
an attack of one brother upon another. These occurrences are rare in Mundurucú society, but they serve to further highlight the strong, latent sibling rivalry that appears clearly in the mythology and folklore. The incident, which was said to have occurred within the last generation, also documents techniques by which one can defend himself against the jaguars and destroy the sorcerer who is traveling in the guise of these creatures.

Two brothers, who had inherited shamanistic power from their father, were at odds because one wanted the wife of the other. The jealous brother decided to kill the husband by turning himself into a jaguar and eating him. The brothers

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And, as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping arrangements. On each side of the men's house and down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great
[855] deal of affection and attention on their offspring. However, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village.
[866] The children, like children in most societies with extended families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village,